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Mangoes grow in the bush, but do not, so far as I know, receive any attention, though the locality of each tree is known. When passing anywhere near one, most people will turn aside to gather the fruit. They like to dip it into their lime-pot before taking a bite; this is said to add to the flavour. 222 262

Pumpkins and some forms of marrow grow in the taro garden, and in some places are found wild in the bush; possibly these are escapes. They were sometimes offered to me, but are not much used or liked. 244 262

Sugar-cane is available. Bits of it are sucked with great relish. It is tough and stringy and not very sweet; probably it suffers from lack of attention. No use is made of it except to suck sections of the cane as we eat sweets. 263

The long narrow fruit of the small-leaved mangrove (*parii*), which goes red when it is ripe, is collected, skinned, and put into a basket, then it is left in the sea overnight; next morning it is washed in fresh water, boiled, and eaten as a relish, with coco-nut meat. 222 252 262

A small Chili pepper (*nubo*) is used to flavour the water in which other food has been boiled, this liquid is then partaken of at the meal. 263

2. *Flesh food*

Unless some one chances to kill a wild pig in casual hunting, pig-meat is a luxury reserved for special occasions. Domestic pigs are never killed except for a feast of considerable importance. The prestige of an important feast depends upon the number of pigs that have been killed for it. If enough cannot be procured from the village supply, or caught by the hunters, the natives will, at the present time, pay as much as £10 or £12 of our money—earned as wages in serving as indentured labourers—to a trader or planter who will sell them one. 262 574 439 [435]

Unless they have been wounded, wild pigs caught in the bush are generally brought into the village alive. The method of carrying them is to tie the forelegs together, and the hind legs together, and swing the animal on a pole put between the legs. A pig will perhaps be brought in thus in the morning, thrown down on the ground near a hut, and left there for hours until the men are ready to kill it. Killing is usually done by plunging a spear into the animal's body just behind the uppermost foreleg, as it lies on its 224 [461]

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●224 side on the ground. A twist is given before withdrawing the spear, and if it has been done skilfully, death follows instantaneously; but if the pig grunts or squeals or struggles, the weapon is put in again, and sometimes two or three twists are given before the unfortunate animal ceases to breathe. Nowadays the spear is a length of iron [411] rod; in the olden days a stick of hard wood sharpened to a point was used; these are still employed if no iron is at hand. I have also seen pigs killed by a knife thrust instead of the spear.

252 A large fire is made, with big logs, and as soon as the pig is dead —I wish I were certain that they always wait long enough—it is picked up, still on its pole, and held over the flames till all the hair is singed (Pl. 35). Two men hold the pole, one at each end, the others look on with interest. When the hair is thoroughly singed, the pig is laid on the ground, and several men set to work to scrape off the singed hair with knives and sharp shells until the skin is fairly clean. If there is any blood on the body from the wound, the pig is taken to the sea and washed before it is singed. A longitudinal cut is made in the belly from snout to tail, through which the entrails are removed. Stomach and intestines are carefully washed in the sea, cleaned by being scraped with bits of stick, and then cut up and put into a pot, together with the lungs, kidneys, liver, &c. Practically no portion of the pig is thrown away. The blood is dipped up out of the body with a coco-nut shell, and poured into the pot, which is then filled up with water and set on a fire to boil. It is skimmed at intervals with the mid-rib of a coco-nut palm leaf, sharpened to a point. Its contents do not form part of the ceremonial meal for which the rest of the animal is destined, neither would they be given to guests, but are eaten as an ordinary meal by the men who attend to the cooking, when they so desire. [565] The liver is regarded as a special delicacy, and usually falls to the lot of the *tauvau*. The pig is cut into thick sections transversely, the head forming the first portion. These 'joints' are cooked slightly by being placed on the fire for a few minutes till scorched on one side, then turned with the aid of poles and scorched on the other side. They are taken off the fire and laid on banana leaves spread for the purpose, either on the ground or on the verandah of a near-by hut, and are finally divided among the people concerned, who take them away and cut them into smaller pieces. These are wrapped up, with some taro, in packets covered with leaves, with which coco-nut-leaf baskets are filled for the

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the *war* Kilok speaking up above (thunder), and the rain will fall.

When he wishes the rain to cease, he goes to the place where he hid the coco-nuts and empties out the water, then the rain will stop. 789

As is usual, Sobak, as a rain-maker, also knows the procedure for controlling the wind. The essential part of this is the same as that given me by Riamē and Kakari, i.e. the chewing of certain leaves with the betel-mixture and spitting it in the direction from which you wish the wind to come. But you must be careful not to spit too far or you will produce a wind so strong that it will blow down the houses and destroy all the canoes that are at sea. This is sometimes done on purpose, in order to injure some man against whom the rain-maker has a grudge.

The most important part of the rain-making procedure appears to be the filling of some receptacle with water, and pouring it out again. This occurs in all three of the methods here described. Furthermore, it happened that once, when I wanted to cross the bay at a time when a high wind was blowing, and Pinari told me to ask Riamē to fasten the wind for us, Riamē said he did not think he could, because he had given two of the coco-nuts away, one to me, and the other to a friend of his at Pororan, and had not yet prepared others to take their places.

It is quite certain that the rain-makers really believe in their powers, as do all the other natives. Since the rain-making ritual would not be carried out unless there had been some considerable period of fine weather, it is probable that rain follows more often than not, in view of the heavy rainfall of the country. This would, naturally, be looked upon as the result of their endeavours. On the other hand, as I experienced more than once, failures can easily be explained away by putting the blame on the more powerful magic of a rival.

HUNTING

Pig-hunting

The young men spend a great deal of time strolling in the bush with their dogs and spears, ostensibly for the purpose of catching bush pigs. The spear in use for this purpose is now usually a thin iron rod, but it may be still, as it used to be, of hard wood. No attempt is ever made to decorate these working spears, nor are they 224● 411

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furnished with bone barbs as are the spears formerly used in war, and now kept for ceremonial purposes.

When a large number of pigs is required for some feast, a drive is organized in which all the men and boys of the village take part. Even quite little boys will be allowed to join, but the women do not go. 'It isn't women's work', they said when I asked if the women ever helped on these occasions. But, as usual, they made an exception in my favour, so that I am able to give a first-hand description of the procedure.

They use a series of long nets, made of heavy string, consisting of a number of fibres of the plant used for string-making twisted together. The form of knot is the same as that used in fishing-nets, but the mesh is very large. It is measured round a wooden gauge shaped rather like the business end of a spade. Not every village possesses these nets; those who have none borrow from their neighbours. A narrow path is cleared through the bush to allow of the nets being fixed end to end. About six nets are usually employed, they stretch for a distance of several hundred yards. The nets are pegged down with bits of wood, and kept taut by means of canes and tree stumps. Through the top is threaded a stout cord, carefully fastened to a stump at the end of each section. The height of the net from the ground to this cord is about 3 feet. Men sit or squat at short intervals along the line waiting to catch and tie the legs of any pig that is stopped by the net. Behind the line of nets, at some distance, the rest of the party and all the dogs form a wide semicircle, and gradually close in upon the nets. They shout and slash at the bush with their knives, driving any pigs which may be within the enclosed area up to the nets. Frequently one of the animals breaks through and escapes. This inevitably leads to recriminations among the men watching at the nets, and arguments as to which of them ought to have been brave enough to have prevented this catastrophe by putting his spear through the pig. Wounded boars can be very ferocious, and I have known men to be badly hurt by them. It is said that sometimes men are killed. After each such drive the net is taken up and reset in another place farther on. This process may be repeated many times during a day's hunt.

It not infrequently happens that one of the pigs thus caught turns out to be some one's property, since the village pigs have the run of the bush. A domestic pig will be recognized by the

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fact that it has been castrated and that its ears and tail have been cut. It is always set at liberty. On one occasion a pig was caught which had not had its ears cut, although it had undergone castration. It was claimed by one of the men as his, a claim which no one questioned. A mark was cut in its ears and a piece of its tail was snipped off; it was then let loose again.

Pigs caught in such a drive are the joint property of all the men who took part in the hunt. After being cut up and cooked the meat is divided between them. On one occasion I wanted some pig-meat for my servant, and being uncertain who was entitled to be paid for it, was directed to offer the appropriate stick of tobacco to the *tamaun*, which appeared to be satisfactory to every one concerned.

A pig killed in the bush is cooked and eaten the same day at the evening meal. But when wanted for a ceremony, the pigs are, if possible, brought back to the village alive, to be killed just before they are required. An enclosure of logs is put up on the outskirts of the village in which to keep such pigs, and they are fed on coco-nut meat and odd scraps by the women night and morning, like the domestic pigs. But they do not live long in this confinement.

On one occasion the Petats people were anxious to secure a number of pigs, but had hunted for two days in succession with very poor results. Three pigs had been caught, but one had died, and one had been set free as somebody's property, leaving only one rather small animal to show for their two days' arduous labour. So they decided to make 'net medicine' (*tahaun*). The nets were piled up beside the road which runs down the length of the island. A group of men gathered round one of the older men, who was squatting near the side of the road chewing the betel-mixture. None of the others was chewing at this time. After a while he took a stalk of cordyline, and tied all the leaves together in a bunch with a piece of grass. Some powdered lime lay beside him in a pandanus leaf. He took a pinch of this and put it among the cordyline leaves. Presently he spat the red saliva out of his mouth on to the leaves in four places, and laid the cordyline stalk upright against a tree. Then there was an interval of several minutes, during which everybody present smoked and talked. Then, without warning, the principal performer snatched up the bunch of cordyline, and turning very suddenly, whipped the pile of nets with it. He struck

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the pile six times, and then struck once at random into the bush, after which he threw the stalk of cordyline away among the underbrush. The young men pounced on the nets shouting, and went off with them quickly. The man who had performed the ceremony went after them, and directed them where to put the nets. They were obviously hopeful and expectant, and, sure enough, the first time the nets were set up they were successful. But they caught no others that day, although they made several drives subsequently.

Dogs are an indispensable adjunct to pig-hunting, and are kept mainly for that purpose. A good hunting dog is very highly valued. There is an elaborate ceremony for making dogs good hunters, which was a speciality of Pinari, who sometimes paid visits to other villages for the purpose of performing it for the dogs of his friends. He learned it from a clansman at Baniu, now dead. The secret was imparted to him because pigs had been destroying the village taro-gardens, and their own dogs had proved ineffective. Pinari gave the details to his eldest son, Wasē, from whom I learned them, with Pinari's consent, the account being read to him and the details checked. As there are several points of interest in it, I give it in full, although it is somewhat lengthy. The ceremony is called *wafip*.

Magic for making dogs hunt well.

If you want to make this magic, you must first scrape some of the bark of the tree *managewan*.[1] While you are scraping it you must imitate the barking of a dog. Then scrape some of the bark of *nes*, and bark again like a dog. Then scrape the bark of *katfan* (*Caryota* sp.?), and bark again like a dog. Then cut a twig of *bo* (*Lesa* sp.) and part of the stem of *owor*, and the bark of *gunagu*. Bring these to the village, and there scrape some of the bark of *owor*. Put all these leaves and scrapings into a *kōbū*, and put the *kōbū* into the boys' house. Then get areca-nut, the fruit of the betel-pepper (the leaves will not do), and lime. The lime must be freshly made and freshly powdered or it is no good. Chew the betel-mixture, and spit on the leaves and scrapings in the *kōbū*. This work is given to the smaller boys, the grown men do not chew at this time. Go on chewing till the *kōbū* is full.

[1] Where the botanical names of the plants used are not given, they have not been identified.

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There are a number of variants of this procedure, current in different villages, but all having for their aim 'to make the dogs cross'. At the village of Tung I saw the lower jaw of a large marine creature with sharp teeth hanging on the wall of the men's house. I was told it was intended to be crushed up and mixed with the dog's food, so that they would 'get very cross and hunt well'. Another method involves putting special food for the dogs in an ants' nest, so that when the dog tries to eat it the ants bite him, 'then he gets very cross and is ready to chase pigs'. The word I have translated 'cross' is used of people in a bad temper, but I suppose in this case it means 'fierce'.

There is also a 'medicine' intended to act in the opposite way, i.e. to spoil a dog for hunting:

If you want a dog and the owner won't give it to you, get some of the dog's excrement, put it in a coco-nut shell and bury it. Over the place where it is buried plant some of the plant called *wanis* (this word is used of several different plants, most of which seem to be varieties of *Eleusine*). When this grows tall the dog will not be good at hunting any more.

Opossum hunting

[The Cuscus opossum, or phalanger (Pl. 41*b*).]

Opossum are hunted chiefly by boys and the younger men.

The method is to peer about in the foliage till one is seen curled up on a branch, or to track the animal to its hole, and then to climb the tree and pull it out (Fig. 10). If it has gone in so far that it cannot be reached, the tree will often be felled. Quite large trees are sometimes felled for the sake of one opossum, but as most of them are soft-timbered varieties, this task is not as arduous as it might appear. The boys like to go hunting for opossum at night, using torches made of coco-nut palm leaves with their fronds folded into a bunch and tied together. I used to be invited to accompany the party, with the proviso that I should bring my 'shoot-lamp' (pidgin-English for 'electric torch'). The light not only serves to locate the opossum, but also to dazzle it, when it is likely to fall down and be seized by the dogs. The hunters try to drive the animals by shouts and by making a noise with a leaf adjusted between finger and thumb, which is then smacked sharply with the other hand.

There are various 'medicines' which are used to aid the hunter,

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224 their object being to make his eyesight keener so that he can locate his quarry. They are all similar to the following:

224 824 *Kuriworots* (a creeper with a thick juicy stem)

Press out the sap from a piece of the stem, and rub it on your face round your eyes before you start out. This will make you see well.

[532]

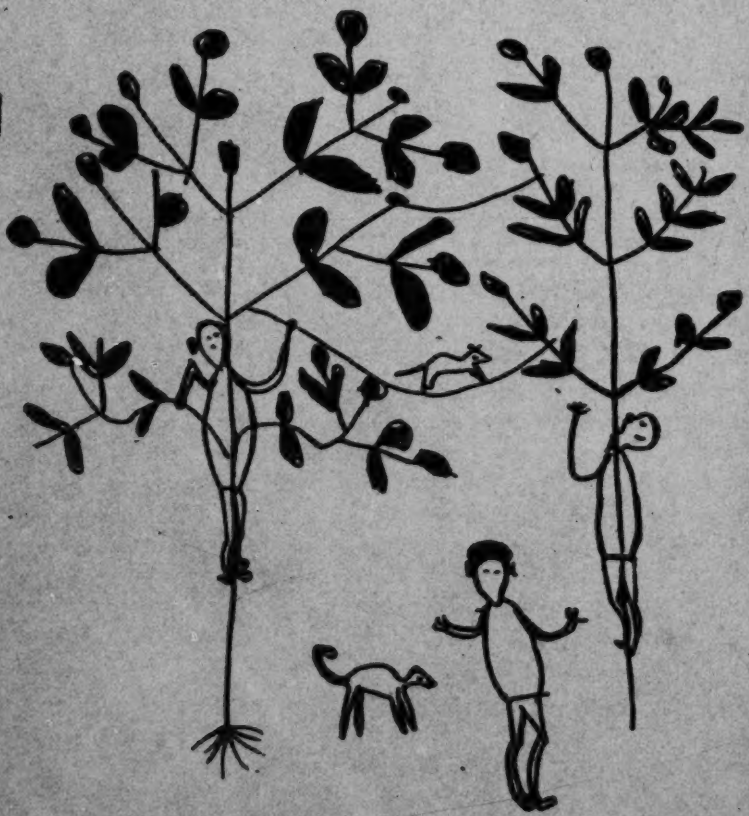

FIG. 10. An Opossum Hunt. The opossum is running along the branch; the animal on the ground is a dog. (Drawn by a boy.)

Wasuridi (a tree in which opossum like to live)

Take some of the leaves, squeeze them between your hands, and rub them over your eyes when you go out, then you will be able to see the opossum a long way off.

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Opossum are sometimes required for ceremonial purposes. Large quantities of them must be caught before going out to cut the *pa'i* (ridge-poles) for the long house to be used at the *watasusf* ceremony. They are necessary also to the performance of one of the rain-making ceremonies, where they are offered to the *wer*.

Iguana

Men and boys go to the bush and look until they find an iguana in a tree. Then one of the party climbs the tree and startles the animal, which probably either falls down or tries to escape; in either case it will be caught by other men waiting at the tree-foot. It is killed by blows from a stick.

I do not know of any magic connected with iguana hunting. Perhaps its absence, or relative unimportance, if it exists, may be explained by the fact that these creatures are not much desired as food, and are therefore but little sought after.

Birds

Birds are shot with bow and arrows, the latter being made of the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf. The much larger and more elaborate arrows formerly used for war are now reserved for carrying at ceremonies, and are never used for hunting. But the same bow is used in both cases. Some of the little boys are very skilful in the use of these sago-palm leaf arrows.

Birds are also taken with nets. A man and a boy will go out before dawn; the man will climb a tree and stretch a net across it, keeping it taut by means of a stick. As the birds fly across it they are caught in its meshes, and the boy goes up and brings them down.

There is also a form of trap or snare used for taking birds. It is called *watsi*. I have not seen it in use, but two of the men constructed one in the village square for me to see how it was done (Fig. 11). Two sticks are placed upright on the ground, about 18 inches apart. A sapling is chosen, or put in on purpose, about 3 feet away from them. Its top is bent over, and a piece of fibre tied to it. At the other end of the piece of fibre a small twig is fastened. Two sticks are placed horizontally one above the other, passing from one of the uprights to the other. These are not fastened, but are held in place by the tension of the sapling pulling

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223 on the little twig which is placed against them, vertically, on the side away from the uprights. On the lower of these precariously held sticks there rest the ends of three horizontal sticks, the other ends of which rest on a log about a foot away, on that side of the uprights away from the saplings. A noose of fibre is laid on these three sticks, attached by a string to the small twig (the one attached by a string to the sapling) which keeps the two horizontals in position. Food is placed on or around these three sticks. If a bird

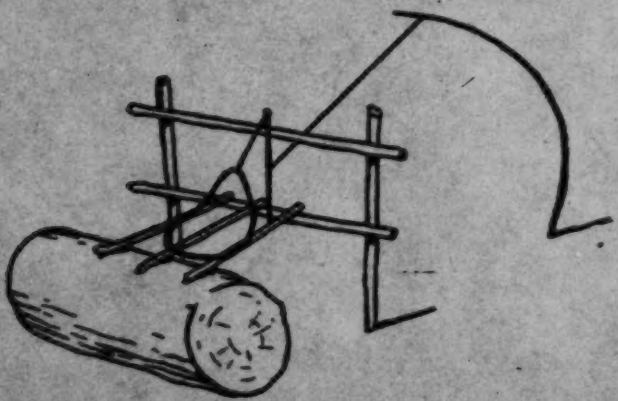

FIG. 11. Bird snare (*natsi*).

alights on them, its weight dislodges the lower of the two horizontal sticks, thus releasing the twig tied to the sapling, which flies back, pulling the noose with it, and the bird is caught in the tightened string of the noose.

Flying foxes, &c.

224 Flying foxes (*tsubak*) and other varieties of bats (*pututu*) are taken from the holes in the trees in which they hide during the day. Boys climb a tree with likely-looking holes in it, and feel inside for the creatures, which they pull out. Or they will search in the hollow of a large tree.

FISHING

226 Flesh food being none too plentiful, and at all times not very easy to get, by far the larger part of the necessary supplement to a diet of taro consists of fish. Both sexes are occupied for much of

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household pets, and calls them by name.[1] They roam about the village or the bush at will, but come morning and evening to their owner's hut to be fed when called. I have frequently seen women and children caressing them, but do not know of any case in which they have been suckled by women, though this may quite possibly occur, as reported from other areas. Village pigs have their ears slit as a mark of identification, and the males are castrated, which is regarded as a means of identifying them when they are caught in the nets meant for wild pigs, though the reason given for carrying out this operation is that they will not be so wild and so likely to run away. (See further discussion of this question in Chapter III.) No attempt is made to breed, but the females have plenty of opportunity of foregathering with bush pigs, so that the supply is maintained in spite of this custom. The litter belongs to the person who owns the mother. Sometimes young pigs are taken over to Baniu to be cared for there, because 'the ground is better for them' there than at Kurtatchi. In this case, when the sow farrows, the Baniu people are given a piglet for their trouble.

On the occasion of a major feast, pigs are contributed by each person concerned in any respect, according to his ability, assessed by the *tunoun*. Some months before the *watawutʃ* ceremony was due to be held, Pinari went round to some of the villages whose boys were to take part in it, leaving at every house a short length of bamboo; this was an indication that such a house was to provide a pig for the associated feast, the family would then set aside a certain pig for that purpose.

The pigs belonging to a person of rank are killed at his death to provide food for the people who come to wail.

Wild pigs killed in the bush are the property of the huntsman. If a concerted drive is made with nets, the pigs caught belong to

[1] Some pigs are named after the place they came from, or the person from whom they were obtained. Some are given names reminiscent of events which happened at the time they were born, e.g. 'Kwigin', for a pig born when the *tɔpi* boys were being given food by the *Amigin* (older men) in the bush, prior to the *watawutʃ* ceremony. Some contain a sly allusion to somebody's personal idiosyncrasy: 'Guruskiu', 'Sleeps over his work'; 'Muwapuin', 'Eats herself and gives none away'. Other names refer to a physical peculiarity of the pig: 'Pipipispan', 'One ear cut, one ear not cut'. Not infrequently there is a dig at the white man. One pig was called by the name of a planter whom the natives much disliked, this was intended as an insult. Another was called 'Whiteman'. On inquiring the reason for this, I was told: 'The white people give their pigs names of our people, so we called our pig "Whiteman".'

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all the people who participated in the hunt; they are cut up and divided equally; each man then takes his own share home. If he so desires, the *tsunaun tʃan* can claim a portion for himself, whether or no he was present at the hunt. If a large number of pigs are wanted for a special feast, wild pigs thus caught are kept alive till wanted, when they are put into the common stock of food.

Domestic pigs are killed only on ceremonial occasions. The day when this will inevitably happen is anticipated with mixed feelings by their owners, pride in being able to furnish the contribution required of them being tempered by grief at the loss of a pet. No one, however, would ever refuse to part with his pig when occasion required. Domestic pigs only, never wild ones, are used in economic and ceremonial transactions. Many of these have been noted in their appropriate context.

Other possessions.

Dogs are much valued as personal possessions.[1] A good hunting dog is greatly prized by its owner and coveted by others. They are bought and sold, but never form part of a ceremonial payment as pigs do. One day four men came to Kurtatchi on their way back to a mountain village; they bought a dog from Pinari for which they paid him 10*s.* in shillings. They carried it away with them, its legs tied with strips of bark, and its mouth and eyes covered with half a coco-nut shell put on like a muzzle, a hole having been cut through which the dog could breathe.

Canoes are owned by the men, but their families may use them. A woman does not own a canoe unless her husband is dead, then she may take his. While he is alive she will ask his permission when she wishes to use it, and if he wants it himself he will go to another man and borrow one for her.

For the rest, the men have their fishing-nets, and other apparatus, pig-spears, musical instruments, &c.; some still cling to war spears, clubs, and ornamented arrows of the olden days, which they carry now on ceremonial occasions only. The women all possess black-lip oyster-shell knives, which they make by grinding down the shell on lumps of rough coral; *kōbū*, and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens on the back; cleaned-out coco-nuts for holding

[1] Dogs are given names of the same kinds as those given to pigs. One, for example, was called Patú, because the rest of the litter died, and it was thought that by and by he would die too (*patú tomei in*).

Hunting

Hunting of land mammals is also zealously carried on, especially the hunt for wild boars; this is normally done by means of dogs who track down the boar and hurl it to the ground or hold it until it is stabbed to death. Also the flying dogs (bats) and a variety of cuscus are hunted; particularly the first are killed in great quantities. Hunting for wild fowl is carried on only to a very limited degree.

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